

- 1) Tuesday, Sept. 18: Theory of Mind**
- 2) Thursday, Sept. 20: finish Theory of Mind
Conceptual Development 1**
- 3) Tuesday, Sept. 25: Conceptual Development 2**
- Thursday, Sept. 27: EXAM 1**
- 4) Tuesday, Oct. 2: Eyewitness Testimony**
- 5) Thursday, Oct. 4: Culture and Development**

Culture and Development

October 4, 2012

Outline

- Lecture on culture and development
- Movie: “Preschool in three cultures”
- In-class assignment

So far...

- Child = lone “scientist”
 - uses evidence to refine theories about the world
- In fact, each child is surrounded from birth with people who all seem to have clear ideas about how a baby should be raised—there are clear cultural norms about every aspect of child rearing
 - Am I talking enough? Am I feeding enough? Am I feeding at the right times? Why isn't he/she sleeping through the night yet? When should I start the piano lessons?

Parental behavior and goals are influenced by cultural norms

- Every culture has clear ideals for what a child should become, for what makes a good person/adult
- For example, what is an intelligent child?
 - Americans: intelligent = aggressive and competitive
 - Kipsigis: intelligent = being responsible, doing all the chores

(Harkness & Super, 1992)
- Cultural norms are often a reflection of the economic setting of the people: agrarian vs. urban-industrialized societies

A well worked-out account of cultural norms about what makes a good person

- For Americans (and Western Europeans), the self
 - is constantly attended to and “boosted” (self-esteem)
 - is differentiated from the others (“everyone is special”)
 - is asserted in a variety of ways (our daily behaviors, choices)

“The squeaky wheel gets the grease.”
- For Japanese (and other Asian, African, and Latin-American cultures), the self
 - is de-emphasized
 - needs to attend to and fit in with others
 - needs to maintain harmonious relationships with others

“The nail that stands out gets pounded down.”

e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991

Some examples

Markus & Kitayama, 2003

- Markus: lecturing in Japan – why are there never any questions?
- Kitayama: why do American students ask so many questions?

- Kitayama: why so many choices all the time?
- Markus: choice is not a burden – dinner example

How are these ideas reflected in childrearing practices?

- Morelli et al. (1992): sleeping arrangements

Table 2
Sleeping Locations in the Two Communities

Location	U.S. (n = 18)		Mayan (n = 14)	
	0-3 months	After 6 months	0-3 months	After 6 months
In mother's bed, with father and/or sibling	0	2	10	10
In mother's bed, with no other bedmates	0	0	4	4
In separate bed, in mother's room	15	2	0	0
In another room, with a bedmate	0	0	0	0
In own bed in another room, with a roommate	0	6	0	0
In another room, alone	3	8	0	0

How are these ideas reflected in childrearing practices?

How did parents justify these sleeping arrangements?

U.S. parents: many focused on developing independence and self-reliance

"I think that he would be more dependent ... if he was constantly with us like that"

"It was time to give him his own space, his own territory"

Mayan parents: separating babies from parents is cruel, almost like child abuse; sleep is a social event and should be enjoyed as a family

Holding & interacting with babies

Table 2. Mean Proportion of Total Maternal Behavior in Five Cultures—Maternal Behavior at Infant Age Three to Four Months

	<i>Kenyan Gusii (n = 9)</i>	<i>U.S. (n = 9)</i>
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Mean</i>
Hold	1.00	.54
Talk	.11	.25
Look	.12	.40

Richman et al., 1988

Why the difference?

Gusii:

- Infant mortality is close to 50% → primary goal is survival
→ constant carrying, feeding; immediate response to distress; etc.
- Little conversation & interaction with infants:
 - training the baby not to require too much attention; raising a compliant, obedient child
 - belief that babies can't understand verbal communication
 - belief that it's more appropriate for children than mothers to talk to babies

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Americans: "In contemporary middle-class American culture, parenting is seen as an awesome responsibility, an unforgiving vigil to keep the helpless infant from falling behind in the great race of life" (Steven Pinker)

Richman et al., 1988

“Personal storytelling”

Personal storytelling = the stories parents tell others about their children in their children's presence

Which of their children's behaviors do parents bring up in these stories? What do they choose to focus on?

2½-year-olds and their parents in Taipei (Taiwan) vs. Chicago

Miller et al., 1997

“Personal storytelling”

Taiwanese parents: 35% of their stories focused on children's misbehavior

- Crying, anger, tantrums
- Misbehaving in public (e.g., interrupting church service)

American parents: only 7% of their stories focused on misbehavior

Miller et al., 1997

“Personal storytelling”

Why the difference?

- Taiwanese parents tend to use these stories as a means of teaching moral and social standards, of developing the child's respect for parents and elders
- American parents tend to use them as entertainment and affirmation of the child (boosting their self-esteem)

Miller et al., 1997

Speaking of self-esteem...

[video]

Popular children's songs

"Proud of me"

I am very proud of me,
I think I will sing out loud of me,
There ought to be a crowd of me
Because I am so special.

Yes, I do have pride in me,
I love ev'ry bright blue side of me,
I feel so satisfied in me
Because I am so special.

P-R-I-D-E spells pride,
That is P-R-I-D-E.
Pride is the feeling of feeling good
about me,
About me.

Yes, indeed, I please myself,
My fingers, my toes, my knees,
myself,
I hug and kiss and squeeze myself,
Because I am so special.

I seldom have a doubt of me,
I love ev'ry in and out of me,
I think I have to shout of me,
Because I am so very, very, very,
very proud
Of me!

Speaking of self-esteem... Another example from the U.S.



Very popular Chinese children's song: “When we are together”

Pinyin

Dang1 wo3 men tong2 zai4 yi1 qi3,
 zai4 yi1 qi3, zai4 yi1 qi3,
 dang1 wo3 men tong2 zai4 yi1 qi3,
 qi2 kuai4 le4 wu2 bi3.
 Ni3 dui4 zhe wo3 xiao4 xi1 xi1,
 wo3 dui4 zhe ni3 xiao4 ha1 ha1,
 dang1 wo3 men tong2 zai4 yi1 qi3,
 qi2 kuai4 le4 wu2 bi3.

Translation

When we are together,
 together, together,
 when we are together,
 this happiness has no equal.
 You face me, *ha ha*,
 I face you, *ha ha*,
 when we are together,
 this happiness has no equal

How are childrearing practices influenced by cultural norms and ideas?

- Sleeping arrangements
- Holding and interacting with babies
- “Personal storytelling” and the behaviors it emphasizes
- Children’s songs & educational materials

What effect do these practices have? Let’s look at a couple of differences in how children think and behave in these two cultural contexts...

Choice of friends: Shyness and popularity

Canadian vs. Chinese 8- to 10-year-old children

- asked to name 3 children who are their best friends
- children who were described with phrases such as "feelings get hurt easily", "very shy", "usually sad" were
 - less likely to be popular in Canada
 - more likely to be popular in China

shy child = mature, well-behaved, understanding
inhibited and cautious behavior encouraged

Chen et al., 1992

Motivation: How motivating is mom's choice?

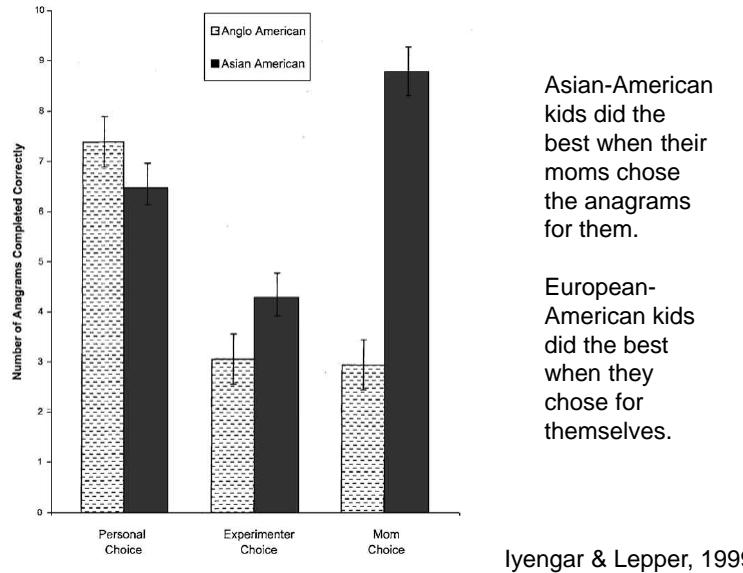
Asian- vs. European-American children, aged 7 to 9

- asked to work on an anagram task
- 6 kinds of anagrams (animals, family, house, etc.)
- children were told that
 - the experimenter chose the anagram type for them
 - their mom chose the anagram type for them
 - they can choose for themselves

What do you predict? When did they do better?

Iyengar & Lepper, 1999

Motivation: How motivating is mom's choice?



Movie

“Preschool in Three Cultures: Japan, China, and the United States”

- 3 preschools filmed in 1985
 - Komatsudani Hoikuen (Kyoto, Japan)
 - Dong-Feng Preschool (China)
 - St. Timothy's Preschool (Honolulu, HI)

Movie

In-class assignment:

While you watch the movie, write down all the features of the Japanese preschool that you think reflect the interdependent/collectivist nature of East Asian societies.